

Message Text

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3624
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 20033

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV NATO WB US UK FR GW
SUBJECT: DECEMBER 1976 QUADRIpartite MEETING (BERLIN
AND GERMANY): AGENDA ITEM ON BERLIN BRIEFING
PROJECT

REFS: (A) STATE 289901; (B) BONN 19906; (C) STATE 276088
(D) BONN 18809; (E) PARIS 32830 (ALL NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY. GIVENTHE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS ON HOW
BEST TO CARRY OUT THE PROJECT FOR BRIEFING THIRD
COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON THE STATUS
OF BERLIN, IF AT ALL, THE ISSUES WILL BE CARRIED OVER
FOR DISCUSSION AT THE DECEMBER 8 SENIOR LEVEL MEETING.
THE BONN GROUP HAS PREPARED A PAPER SETTING FORTH THE
ISSUES AND THE RESPECTIVE VIEWPOINTS, IN ORDER TO
FACILITATE DISCUSSION AT THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING.
END SUMMARY.

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1. THE FRG CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE US PROPOSAL FOR

CONDUCTING A BROAD-SCALE BRIEFING PROJECT AMONG THIRD COUNTRIES AND SECRETARIATS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, IN AN EFFORT TO GET ON THE RECORD THE WESTERN VIEWPOINT ON THE BERLIN ISSUES WHICH MOST FREQUENTLY ARISE. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH WILL ALSO AGREE TO UNDERTAKING SUCH A PROJECT, ALTHOUGH BOTH RECALL THAT IT WAS AGREED AT THE OSLO QUADRIpartite MEETING THAT NO FINAL DECISION WOULD BE REACHED UNTIL SENIOR OFFICIALS, AND PERHAPS MINISTERS, COULD DISCUSS IT AGAIN IN BRUSSELS.

2. TO FACILITATE DISCUSSIONS AT THE DECEMBER 8 QUADRIpartite MEETING, THE BONN GROUP HAS NEVERTHELESS SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY THE ISSUES AND, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, NATIONAL POSITIONS ON EACH OF THEM. AS FORESHADOWED BY REFTELS (C), (D), AND (E), THERE CONTINUE TO BE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRENCH ON SEVERAL OF THE POSSIBLE MODALITIES FOR CARRYING OUT THE BRIEFING PROJECT. IN ADDITION, THE UK REP HAS OBTAINED NO INSTRUCTIONS AT ALL ON ANY OF THE ISSUES, AS THE FCO CONTINUES TO REMIND HIM THAT THE UK REMAINS TOTALLY UNCOMMITTED.

3. VIEWS ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES HAVE BEEN EXCHANGED TRIPARTITELY AND IN THE FULL BONN GROUP, AND ON NOVEMBER 26 THE BONN GROUP REACHED AD REF AGREEMENT ON AN ISSUES PAPER WHICH COULD BE PRESENTED TO SENIOR OFFICIALS AS AN ADJUNCT TO DISCUSSION OF ITEM THREE ON THE AGENDA (REF B).

4. THE PAPER IS VAGUEST IN ITEM SIX -- THE SCOPE OF THE OPERATION. ALTHOUGH THE US REP HAD SUGGESTED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH REFTEL (C), THAT THE FRG FONOFF BEGIN PREPARING A LIST OF COUNTRIES WHERE BRIEFINGS MIGHT BE INDICATED, AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF A DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES, THE FRG HAS NOT YET HAD TIME TO PREPARE SUCH A LIST AND IT IS UNLIKELY TO BE READY BEFORE THE BRUSSELS MEETING. PREPARATION OF SUCH A LIST WILL THEREFORE HAVE TO BE DEFERRED UNTIL AFTER THE QUADRIpartite MEETING, ON THE BASIS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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GENERAL GUIDELINES WORKED OUT AT THE MEETING.

5. THE TEXT OF THE DISCUSSION PAPER FOR AGENDA ITEM THREE FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

AGENDA ITEM FOR SENIOR LEVEL MEETING:

BRIEFING PROJECT

IN RESPONSE TO THE MANDATE FROM THE OSLO
QUADRIpartite MEETING, THE BONN GROUP HAS
PREPARED A PAPER WHICH MIGHT BE USED TO BRIEF THIRD
COUNTRIES AND OFFICIALS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
ON THE WESTERN POSITION ON THE BERLIN PROBLEMS WHICH

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MOST FREQUENTLY ARISE. TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE
DECEMBER QUADRIpartite MEETING ARE THE QUESTIONS OF
WHETHER THE PAPER SHOULD BE USED, AND, IF SO, HOW.
THESE ARE THE ISSUES FOR CONSIDERATION:

1. WHETHER TO UNDERTAKE AN ENLIGHTENMENT CAMPAIGN

THE US, IN PROPOSING THE PROJECT, NOTED THAT THE

CONTINUING COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN AMONG THIRD COUNTRIES AND IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS COULD LEAD TO AN EROSION OF SUPPORT FOR THE WESTERN POSITION ON BERLIN AND A GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF THE SOVIET ASSERTIONS THAT THE WESTERN SIDE IS CONSISTENTLY VIOLATING THE QA. BRIEFING THIRD COUNTRIES AND OFFICIALS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WOULD HELP SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT AND PROVIDE OUTSIDERS WITH A FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR CONSIDERING BERLIN PROBLEMS AS THEY ARISE. THE FRG HAS CONFIDENTIAL

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SUPPORTED THE US PROPOSAL.

THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE, WHILE NOT OPPOSING THE PROJECT AND WHILE APPRECIATING THE FORCE OF THE US ARGUMENTS, HAS POINTED TO THE DANGERS OF A SOVIET COUNTERACTION AND AN ACCELERATION OF BERLIN-RELATED POLEMICS. THE UK REPRESENTATIVE HAS RESERVED HIS POSITION. ALL FOUR DELEGATIONS AGREED IN OSLO THAT EVENTUAL USE OF THE PAPER WOULD BE DETERMINED IN BRUSSELS.

2. TIMING

IF IT IS DECIDED TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A CAMPAIGN, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE AT A TIME WHEN THERE IS NO SPECIAL TENSION OVER BERLIN, AND ALSO WITH CONSIDERATION FOR OTHER INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AT THE TIME (SUCH AS BREZHNEV TRAVELS ABROAD).

3. PLACE

BRIEFINGS OF OFFICIALS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WOULD PRESUMABLY TAKE PLACE AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED. THERE ARE DIVIDED OPINIONS AS TO THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF CONVEYING OUR MESSAGE TO THIRD COUNTRIES.

THE US BONN GROUP REPRESENTATIVE BELIEVES THAT THE BRIEFINGS SHOULD BE DONE IN THIRD CAPITALS, WHERE REPORTING ON BERLIN ISSUES, WHEREVER THEY MAY HAVE ARISEN, IS RECEIVED AND WHERE INSTRUCTIONS ARE FORMULATED. THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE SUGGESTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT OUR BRIEFINGS WOULD HAVE LESS OF THE APPEARANCE OF A FORMAL DEMARCHE IF DONE IN WASHINGTON, PARIS AND LONDON; HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT THIS MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVE BECAUSE ALLIED OFFICIALS IN THE THREE CAPITALS CAN DISCUSS THE ISSUES KNOWLEDGABLY AND BECAUSE, IN MANY CASES, THIRD WORLD AMBASSADORS IN MAJOR CAPITALS ARE MORE INFLUENTIAL THAN FOREIGN

OFFICE OFFICIALS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS.

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THE UK AND FRG REPRESENTATIVES SUGGEST THE POSSIBILITY OF INITIAL BRIEFINGS IN WASHINGTON, PARIS, LONDON, AND BONN, WITH FOLLOW-UP APPROACHES SOMETIME LATER IN SELECTED CAPITALS.

4. MODALITIES

THE BONN GROUP PAPER IS IN TWO PARTS -- A COVERING MEMORANDUM WHICH DISCUSSES THE LEGAL SITUATION AND AN ANNEX WHICH SETS OUT THE WESTERN VIEW ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ARISEN. THE US, UK, AND FRG REPRESENTATIVES BELIEVE THAT THE PAPER SHOULD BE TREATED AS A PACKAGE AND THAT COPIES OF BOTH THE MEMORANDUM AND THE ANNEX SHOULD BE LEFT WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS. WHILE THE MEMORANDUM IS A BASIC DOCUMENT, THE ANNEX DISCUSSES THE POINTS LIKELY TO BE OF GREATEST INTEREST TO THIRD COUNTRIES AND IS EVEN MORE HELPFUL IN ASSISTING THEM TO UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION ON BERLIN ISSUES.

THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE RECOMMENDS THAT, IF THE PROJECT IS UNDERTAKEN, ONLY THE BASIC MEMORANDUM SHOULD BE LEFT WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS. THE ANNEX WOULD MORE

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APPROPRIATELY BE USED SIMPLY AS A TALKING PAPER BY
OFFICERS PROVIDING THE BRIEFING.

5. DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES

IF IT IS DECIDED TO DO THE INITIAL BRIEFINGS IN
THIRD-COUNTRY CAPITALS, THE US REPRESENTATIVE SUGGESTS
THAT THERE WOULD BE LESS OF AN APPEARANCE OF SPECIAL
PLEADING ON THE PART OF THE FRG IF THESE WERE DONE
BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE ALLIES, WITH THE FRG
UNDERTAKING FOLLOW-UP ACTION. THE UK REPRESENTATIVE
SEES MERIT IN THE FRG ASSOCIATING ITSELF
CLOSELY WITH THE BRIEFINGS. THE FRG REPRESENTATIVE
SHARES THIS POSITION.

WHETHER THE BRIEFINGS ARE DONE IN THIRD-COUNTRY
CAPITALS OR IN THE THREE ALLIED CAPITALS (OR THOSE
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THREE PLUS BONN), THERE WOULD NEED TO BE A DIVISION OF
RESPONSIBILITY, PROBABLY COORDINATED IN THE BONN GROUP
ON THE BASIS OF RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE FOUR CAPITALS,
FOR BRIEFING INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS.

6. SCALE OF OPERATION

THE BONN GROUP HAS IT IN MIND THAT THE FOLLOWING
MIGHT BE APPROACHED:

A. ALL MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER
ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH BERLIN PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN RAISED.

B. ALLIED AND OTHER FRIENDLY STATES WHO SUPPORT
OUR POSITION ON BERLIN BUT WHO MIGHT WELCOME THE

BRIEFING FOR INFORMATION.

C. OTHER NON-COMMUNIST STATES (TO BE SELECTED).

END TEXT

6 ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT'S APPROVAL OF THE ABOVE
TEXT FOR SUBMISSION TO SENIOR OFFICIALS AS AN AGREED
DISCUSSION PAPER.
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